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ABSTRACT

On a high level of generalization, this essay traces the basic strains in the adult education enterprise to the differing pressures of clientele demand and academic respectability, and suggests that the kind of task differentiation represented by a division between credit and non-credit work may mitigate the tensions. In a postscript, Harry L. Miller focuses on the implications of this proposal on a more particular level, the university. He suggests that there may be more than two sources for educational aims; the option seems to be that one can construct programs, about which no university person needs to be defensive, by changing and adapting the academic tradition not to clientele demand, but to some defensible theory of adult need. Perhaps organizational separateness needs to be so; we should give organizational identity to the serious efforts to educate the public which are attempts neither to entertain nor to induct individuals into the society, which is the job of the undergraduate college. (EB)

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NOTES AND ESSAYS ON EDUCATION FOR ADULTS 20

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(Continued on inside back cover)

THE MARGINALITY OF ADULT EDUCATION

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CENTER *for the* **STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS**

THE CENTER *for the* **STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS** was established as the result of a grant from the Fund for Adult Education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults. The official purpose of the Center is to "provide aid and leadership to the forces that can develop the evening college and extension movement into a more effective instrument for the liberal education of adults." Communications may be addressed to the Director, 4819 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

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THE MARGINALITY OF ADULT EDUCATION

Among the most widespread problems that beset adult education administrators are certainly those arising from the pressures of marginality. Decisions are made and programs built in a pervading awareness that the adult education enterprise has too little money, too few facilities, and too tenuous a hold on its clientele to gain support for its aims or recognition for its professional personnel. To find practical steps toward improving the problem-solving of adult educators calls first for a review of the characteristics of a modern adult education enterprise and of the movement of which it is a part. These steps could be equally effective in public schools or universities and might have applicability in other adult education enterprises as well.

Organizational Structure

Any environment produces conditions that influence action. In adult education certain conditions have influenced decision-making for decades. For example, one of the striking features of adult education in this country, organizationally, is that adult education agencies have very little freedom to develop on their own terms. They are nearly always dependent rather than independent, located within large organizations that are mainly concerned with other tasks. Adult education programs within universities, public schools, trade unions, museums, and libraries all share this dependency. Furthermore, adult educators are handicapped in becoming established because their aims and programs are not integrally related to the core tasks of the parent organization. Within adult education, both programs and educators are, in a word, marginal.

Organizationally, the public school structure imposes a marginal position on its adult education programs. From the beginning of the public school system in this country, education for the young has been the prime concern of tax-supported institutions of learning. Elementary schools, high schools, and in some states junior colleges fit easily into the public's image of appropriate tax-supported education. Organization-

ally their programs become of central importance and are strengthened by the progression of grades. Adult schools, however, present themselves as something of an anomaly. Their students are older than and differently motivated from "regular" students. Their purposes are additions to the main purposes of the public schools and are in many ways dissimilar. Their organizational structure is separate from any sequence of grades. It is not surprising, then, that state and local authorities do not look upon adult education as mandatory in the sense that education of the young is mandatory upon local authorities. Nor is it surprising that when laymen and school officials have to consider priorities in budget, they rank adult education programs as non-essential. As a consequence, most adult schools lack physical facilities of their own and generally have little fixed capital. They are frequently administered by officials whose basic responsibilities lie in other directions. Finally, adult-school administrators—whether in long established programs or in new ones—must constantly "sell" their programs inside and outside the school walls.

Within universities, adult education appears, typically, to have the same general character. A complex of undergraduate colleges and professional schools, the university as a whole is concerned with young students whose main occupation is their schooling. As in the public schools, university adult programs are not directly related to what the university sees as its main aims. The extension of the university to part-time students, non-regular students, and peripherally-involved adults has produced administrative units—university extension divisions and evening colleges—which are typically marginal. As with the public schools, financing is difficult. Trustees and central officials are reluctant to subsidize the adult college at the level of support given to the undergraduate college and the professional school. Adult education units of a university must usually be 85-100% self-supporting or may even have to show a profit. Assessing the work of the evening college as peripheral, day faculty are reluctant to grant the adult division much status.

Adult education enterprises are marginal because of their relative position and status within an administrative structure. No agreement within our society, therefore, that adult education is worth while is enough to assure adult programs a favorable treatment. Adult programs must compete for a share of the resources of the total organization, where rel-

ative ranking counts. To win permanent security, therefore, the adult organization needs to achieve equality with the programs or units historically recognized as centrally important. At least it needs to achieve a guaranteed parity of treatment. And, although the long-term strategy of officials may be directed toward equality, current problems of adjustment must usually be handled by holding and expanding—however modestly—ground currently held. To make short-term strategy work, moreover, the adult education agency needs demonstrable results—activities tangible in the effect they have on budget and support this year and next.

Goal Diffusion

A second feature that complicates decision-making for adult education agencies is that each unit is not only part of a local, complex organization, but also of a level or field of education. From the parent field comes some image of orientation and action. What image does the adult education movement provide? What guides does it give its agencies in determining purpose? At best, the action organizations receive an ambiguous charge. There is a degree of goal ambiguity in current adult education that is uncommon even in the history of American institutions. This ambiguity has consequences for decision-making that affect the character of organizations in the field.

Until about 1925, adult education limited itself to a few definite programs of formal academic education, vocational training, and Americanization. Then the purposes and activities of adult education began to broaden and the scope of intentions to become almost limitless. Today the purposes of the movement are so diffuse they can hardly be specified. Indeed as California adult administrators put it:

> "Adult education embraces the learning achieved by adults during their mature years. . . . The major purposes of adult education are, first, to make adults in the community aware of individual and community needs, and, second, to give such education as will enable them to meet problems that exist now. Adult education stems directly from the people. The curriculum is based on present needs and problems.
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> "Education for the solution of problems in a democratic society includes the total range of human learning, from the learning of the simple means of communication, reading and writing, to the actual solution of the most complicated problems of human relations."[1]

1. Burton R. Clark, Adult Education in Transition: A Study of Insti-

This quotation reflects the considerable generality of purpose found in adult education today, and the feeling that programs should be diversified to meet a host of individual, group, and societal problems.

The purposes and intentions of current programs hardly constitute directives, however. For as purpose becomes more indefinite, ends intervene less in administrative choice. Goals shape decisions if they provide cues for what should be done. Without cues, administration is cut loose. If purpose is "the learning achieved by adults during their mature years," what follows for administrative action? The administrator may quickly arrive at a point where there is no educational reason to favor one subject over another. Why, indeed, institute history and not gardening?

This goal diffusion—which is characteristic of the adult education movement—also figures in university adult education. Although the credit programs of the evening colleges are largely controlled by the day college, in the non-credit offerings, where university adult educators have some freedom, the courses benefit little from any sense of specific aims held by university adult educators in general: "The function of an evening college is to provide education for mature citizens."[2] The content of the education has proved to be most difficult to specify, however, and the open-end quality of purpose simply turns the administrator loose to fend for himself. He gains greater administrative discretion but at the price of lack of clarity in aim.

Operating Pressures in An Enrollment Economy

Adult education agencies not only lack freedom to develop on their own terms and suffer from trying to meet responsibilities to both local and field demands, but share a third feature in the effect that operating pressures have upon their decision-making process. In a California adult schools study[3] two conditions showed up as heavily pressuring day-

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tutional Insecurity, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1956, p. 63.

2. Cyril O. Houle, "The Evening College: Its Purpose and Its Relationships within the University," Journal of Higher Education, Vol. XXV, No. 7 (October, 1954), p. 365.

3. Burton R. Clark, op. cit.

to-day administrative decisions in a kind of enrollment economy. The first of these conditions was the closeness with which financing was tied to class attendance. In California this tie-up is very close, since state aid for adult education is figured on the basis of hours of attendance. So direct a relation between student turn-out and financial support meant that unless a school maintained or increased attendance, future support would not be increased and might very well drop off. It is important that the relationship of income to attendance was affected by the degree to which the adult school was seen as a marginal enterprise. Local authorities use local taxes to back the programs they see as most essential. If a program seems marginal, its best chance of building up its budget lies in increasing the numbers of those who attend. Hence where there is no dependable source of financial support independent of student turn-out, organizational existence and minimal security become staked on the search for an immediate clientele.

A second condition pressuring administrative decisions in the California schools was the tenuous relationship the students had to the school and its program. Part-time, voluntary, adult—the students were often casual about attendance and found it easy to drop out. Participation was sharply affected by events beyond the control of the organization—warm weather, holiday seasons, community events.

The close tie of financing to enrollment and the tenuous tie of students to program bring about a basic problem of sustaining a clientele base. Together these conditions form a persistent pressure on administrators to adapt programs to student wishes. An adaptation that assures the adult school it can attract students, hold their interest, and replace drop-outs with new students often seems the only way to meet the requirements of school board policy. In California, for example, the school study showed that policies on class size were widespread throughout the state, and this concern with class size made enrollment the criterion by which courses were initiated and continued. This same concern also formed the basis for some characteristics of administrative action that had no grounding in formal administrative policy. For example, some administrators felt it unwise to offer unpopular or experimental courses, even though there was no administrative policy in favor of offering only the tried and true. In general, economy and efficiency became measured in a ratio of attendance to cost.

University adult education, too, operates within a context of enrollment economy. Indeed, where tuition rather than state aid must represent a good share of income, the relationship of student turn-out to financial support may be even closer than in the public schools, and administrators must give considerable attention to ways of tapping and sustaining a tuition course. In the university, too, there are specific rules on class size and a general ethos of counting heads, as a study on evening colleges conducted by the Center indicates:

> "Just as in a convention of the AUEC (Association of University Evening Colleges) almost any discussion somehow gets around to the expression of hopes and fears centering on the number of students enrolled in the evening programs, especially the programs of liberal education, so during the visits to the nine institutions surveyed for this study much concern was voiced over the problem of getting and holding students."[4]

Other units or schools in the university, besides the evening college, must of course pay attention to tuition income, but being more directly concerned with the university's traditional aims, they can usually settle for a budget in which tuition brings in only about a third—or less—of costs. Evening colleges, on the other hand, must expect tuition to cover nearly all costs.

Difficulties of Service Organizations

Adult education organizations tend to assume the structure and orientation of a service agency. In the strictest sense a service enterprise is a type of organization whose basic character is formed around and defined by an unmediated responsiveness to clientele. Response replaces purpose in the sense that clientele pressures and desires take precedence over goals set from within. In the extreme, a service enterprise makes no pretense at determining what is to be done; as it usually operates, it must adapt its aims to the wishes and needs of its clientele. The pressures of the enrollment economy render adult education organizations highly sensitive not only to clientele wishes but to public taste as well. And because the public is quite heterogeneous in educational background and specific interest, an adult education program that attempts a ready adjustment to it must present offerings of a diffuse, cafeteria kind. This

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4. Patterns of Liberal Education in the Evening College, Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1952, p. 27.

diffuseness militates against gaining a specific constituency.

Because of the pressures of the enrollment economy and of a service orientation, adult education administrators are also likely to adjust an adult program rapidly to the expressed interests of particular interest or pressure groups in the population. An adaptation of program to clientele commonly takes place along two dimensions: first, a continual drift toward those items that intrigue a large number of people in the unorganized general public—generally job interests and leisure-time pursuits; second, the provision of specific classes for other organizations on a co-sponsorship basis—in-service training for business firms and public agencies, and activities for service clubs. With either the organized group or the unorganized aggregate, classes are added and dropped according to the verbalized preferences of the clients directly concerned.

In this type of adaptation an educational organization attempts to service consumers in a way more like a business-customer relationship than a traditional school-student one. A school making such an adjustment is relatively unrestricted by educational norms or professional control; it services according to the requests of customers. In the California adult schools many facets of organization reflect this service character. For instance, the main instruments of course selection have become the sign-up list and the group petition. These devices are simply objective ways for administration to gauge demand. If demand is such that a proposed class becomes a probable one, then it will customarily be offered. If the number of recruits increases, more classes can be added and the program of which the course is part will grow. In effect the adult schools have an extreme version of the elective system, with the virtually unlimited play of student choice determining the evolution of the curriculum.

The teaching force, too, must operate in a way to meet the requirements of a service enterprise. Since a high degree of staff flexibility is needed, full-time work and guaranteed employment become administratively undesirable. In Los Angeles in 1952, for example, over 90 per cent of the adult teachers were part-time, with one-fourth working four hours a week or less. Less than 20 per cent had tenure in adult education and less than 5 per cent possessed tenure at a full-time level of employment. Tenure requirements were on the books, but in practice they gave way to the mandates of clientele pressure. Without full-time employment or

tenure, adult teaching can hardly be professionalized, for career patterns are weak and part-time teachers have their primary occupations elsewhere. Attempts at professionalization have been blocked by the more impelling needs of a service facility. Thus "service" has dictated in this context that the teacher will be dispensable, with his fate decided by the play of the enrollment economy.

In practice, of course, adult education organizations range along a continuum of service adjustment. However, in the evening college as in the adult school, there is a pronounced tendency toward a service pattern of organization. The Center's 1952 study of nine evening colleges shows that:

> "Single courses offered without regard for a planned curriculum are common in evening colleges. The variety of these courses is remarkable. Some are long, some short; some are given on campus, some off. Some are conventional in methods; some use spectacular devices like television. (pp. 5-6)
>
> ". . . most directors presume that their budget results in an operational surplus which contributes to financing other parts of the university and that the evening college's surplus is due to its offering individual courses, certificate programs, or degrees that are attractive to students. (p. 28)
>
> "Departure from customary practices and ways of thinking is necessary and inevitable, if for no other reason than the heterogeneity of evening college students. (p. 66)
>
> "The common practice of canceling courses which do not have a certain number of students puts a premium on (flexibility in staffing)." (p. 4)[5]

It is evident that the service tendency has structural consequences in the university similar to those in the public school. The part-time extension teacher has little job protection and is committed elsewhere, usually to the "regular" university. Problems of pay, status, and identification similar to those appearing in the public school are created.

"One of the marks of many evening colleges' teaching staffs is the mixture of career and non-career teachers, professionals and non-professionals, academics and non-academics . . . another mark which characterizes the evening college world as a whole is the lack of uniformity

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5. Patterns of Liberal Education in the Evening College, op. cit. See also John S. Diekhoff, The Domain of the Faculty in Our Expanding Colleges, New York, Harper & Bros., 1956, p. 130.

in the conditions of employment even within the professional ranks. . . . career instructors are in the minority . . . Most instructors have a considerable load of teaching, if not their principal load, in a day department. . . . the most perplexing problem of all in the problem of tenure and rank. . .

. . . for most instructors the evening college is not a headquarters but a camp for transients; a place of temporary business, not an intellectual home."[6] In short, the teaching force is weakly established as an occupational community; only the administrative staff is likely to possess a long-term commitment to adult education.

A service adaptation does not go unchallenged in adult education organizations, however, for it runs counter to widely-held norms and values. Educators and laymen alike possess definitions of respectable educational conduct, and a common denominator in established ideals of education is the expectation that the professional educator will be more than a serviceman. This expectation is well illustrated in the public schools, where traditional values either control what is done in adult education or—where programs come to be determined by consumer preference—challenge what is done. In California, adult education officials have found their practices scrutinized by others in the light of general educational norms on proper courses and proper administrative conduct. From outside the school system, state legislators and economy-minded interest groups challenge what is done and provide organized opposition. They point to cake-decorating, rug-making, and square dancing as little related to education. From within the public schools comes the expectation that some planning and control should be done, guided by research findings and expert judgment. An orientation toward professional control at the other school levels, in fact, has been enhanced by recent drives for higher professional status. Thus central to the self-image of many educators are values that are against ready adjustment to student demands. When this orientation is brought to bear upon programs tending toward pure service, administrators in the service enterprise are seen in a guise of rank expediency.

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6. Patterns of Liberal Education in the Evening College, op. cit., pp. 3-4, and p. 68.

As a service enterprise, the adult education enterprise finds its educational respectability in question. The service tendency cannot be turned off easily, however. Classes of a questionable nature continually crop up when field administrators work with specific, unrelated "demands" at the same time that they are under pressure for an enrollment payoff. The crux of the matter is that adult education agencies labor under incompatible needs. Their central dilemma is that the short-run need for clientele, set by the enrollment economy, strains against the long-run need for educational respectability as the basis for legitimacy. Agencies of the field are torn between a service character and a school orientation.

The adult college does not escape this dilemma. As a college swings to the service extreme, it can hardly fail to draw disapproval from the regular university staff. It must contend with a logic of respectability that denies its mode of program building, its unorganized array of courses, its non-professional polyglot staff. The Center found in its 1952 study: "The kinds of courses offered are not necessarily the kinds of courses students want. They are rather the kinds of courses the administration, struggling to reconcile its own perceptions of popular demand and academic responsibility, decides to offer."[7]

The tendency toward service has important institutional and organizational implications. One effect, of significance to the adult education field as a whole, is the promotion of institutional drift. Where goals and purposes are so diffuse, they foster an unplanned emergence of behavior patterns out of day-to-day adjustments. If an organization has open-end goals its development will probably be highly situation-directed and relatively little goal-directed.

This point may be extended by considering the peculiar nature of "service" as a purpose in education. At first glance such a concept seems a natural one for filling the near vacuum left by the open-end efforts of American adult education. However, the concept of service as a purpose has a distinctive feature: it does not attempt to specify educational ends, but rather leaves the content of programs to emerge in an undirected

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7. Op. cit., p. 28. For a recent illustration of the beliefs brought to bear on university adult education by central faculty, see The Educational Future of Columbia University, New York, 1957, pp. 79-84.

way. What it does specify is a form of relationship between agency and clientele, e.g., one where students request and the organization responds. To use a psychological analogy, the relationship is a simple stimulus-response one. The response of the school to the stimuli presented by clientele is not filtered or mediated, in the extreme case, by concerns of tradition, program continuity, and proper ends of action. When the service conception becomes established in administrative thought—"the adult school is an educational service station"—the determination of program need no longer be considered an important activity. Service is thus an administrative purpose that in itself is unrelated to implementing educational ends. It is purpose, but purpose that is qualitatively different. It does not substitute for educational purpose in channeling action. The service organization, as a pure type, thus becomes one in which educational drift is institutionalized.

Within many movements or fields that possess a general purpose, specific organizations become linked to specific goals. Diffuse purpose of the whole is broken down into specific missions for the parts. Within adult education, however, specialization of purpose has been only weakly developed; hence many grass-roots agencies virtually recapitulate the broad aims of the entire field.

Drift is also promoted by marginality. Feeling less secure at the periphery of an enterprise than they would within one of the core units, administrative personnel tend to make security-enhancing adjustments. Generally put, marginality undercuts administrative autonomy and makes decision-making particularly susceptible to the external pressures of the day. Of course other conditions contribute to unguided change in adult education—the considerable decentralization of authority and policy-making, the low degree of professionalism for instance.

Identity and Integrity

Whenever an organization adapts to a service pattern, it confronts problems of organizational identity and integrity. It is difficult for an organization to know itself when open-end intent leaves its personnel without a guiding self-definition. And if the organization is confused in its conception of its work, outsiders will be also. An organization needs to be able to say what business it is in, if persons within and without are

to identify with it. Identity depends upon a sense of limits, and personnel in a service organization must make at least some careful projections about what kinds of "service" they are going to render to what kinds of of people, and with what purpose. They must have, too, a knowledge of what their organization won't do.

Where an adult education agency lacks identity, outsiders generally attempt to establish one for it, particularly if they sense unwillingness or inability on the part of participants. The Center noted in its 1952 study that many evening colleges felt a lack of identity, using as evidence, ". . . the frequency with which evening college activities are judged in terms which do not belong particularly to the evening colleges as such."[8] The application of what to evening college administrators are inappropriate frames of reference can only be avoided by a self-definition that is or can be made acceptable within and without the organization. The Center's study concluded that among the basic problems of evening colleges is the creation of organizational identity.[9]

Allied with the problem of identity is that of integrity. The integrity of persons or groups seems generally to be defined by a consistency of action based on self-determination. If an organization is to have integrity it will need rules of action related to a self-concept and an ability and willingness to stick by the organizational code formulated from these rules.

Strains upon integrity are common in administration. Often contradictory codes, equally in force, cause confusion over what values are primary and what behavior legitimate. Often an administrator does not have sufficient autonomy and strength to ward off undesired intervention from the outside. Sometimes administrative personnel adhere to a code that is not accepted by important surrounding groups and is continually challenged by them. All of these strains are found in adult education. Contradictory codes abound as agencies vacillate between clientele demand and respectability. Low autonomy and little power are endemic in marginality. And the adult education orientation to service is often debunked by traditionalists.

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8. Op. cit., p. 66. The Columbia University study referred to previously attempts to impose an identity on the University's College of General Studies. Op. cit., pp. 79-84.

9. Op. cit., p. 72.

Service enterprises within education find the development and maintenance of organizational integrity a difficult achievement.

The problem of integrity involved where "we give the people what they want" showed up in the experience of the California adult schools. In defending a course for adults that was under attack, say "dog training," school personnel would offer several explanations: (1) the course produces such large enrollments that it more than pays for itself and therefore the school system should welcome it on financial grounds; (2) the course should be supported by the school system because it is good public relations; (3) the course should be continued because there is a heavy demand; and (4) the course is educationally valuable. The course may well have been educational, but the other defenses suggest that codes were in operation that contradicted, or came close to contradicting, the educational rationale. As this example shows, an adult school itself can foster the image that it chooses classes not on grounds of an educational logic but on the basis of public relations, or potential income, or public pressure.

Evening college administrators undoubtedly can offer similar experiences. It appears unique when an evening college cuts free of profitable demand and can claim to be directed by educational purpose alone. The University College of Rutgers has been depicted as "not a revenue-producing but an educational unit" with "individual classes . . . conducted because they are educationally desirable rather than economically profitable."[10] Such a statement had to be made not to prove the rule but to claim an exception. Probably the typical evening college, like the adult school, has been unable to achieve a desired integrity.

Some Policy Implications

In any interlocking cycle of causation, of course, a push for change can be made at many points. Some conditions will be primary, however, and perhaps the greatest chance for improvement rests in two areas. For one, the position of adult education can be affected by the creation of a quality image. Consider the sequence of conditions that is necessary for adequate planning and control of the curriculum. In any school or univer-

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10. G. Stuart Demarest, Faculty Organization at Rutgers, Notes and Essays Number 11, Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1955, p. 9.

sity, curricular experimentation and design largely depend upon commitment of personnel. The involvement of personnel with the program and their identification with its aims depend upon their opportunities to find satisfying careers. Such careers can be offered only when the parent organization sees the adult work as less than marginal. And only if the larger system subsidizes the adult education unit with money and upholds its status can worthwhile career opportunities develop. How can the central officials be persuaded to come up with the necessary subsidy and support?

A demonstrable quality of work appears the only permanent solution, particularly in a university where academic values loom large. There are varying criteria of acceptability within a university, but basic are those related to the establishment and maintenance of high standards. An administrative concern for quality can be emphasized even if current pressures encourage mediocrity. For example, greater interest could be shown in accreditation. Whenever demonstrable merit is not a primary end, then short-run appeals and adjustments tend to take over, appearing at times as a way to security. And although enrollment bulges promise some reduction in marginality, any long term gain in security can be consolidated only as the school develops and presents a program of intrinsic educational value. For administrators, therefore, to commit themselves to developing such a program is a way of controlling drift as well as of consolidating any gains produced by drift.

To reduce marginality by program merit, however, probably has only limited possibilities unless judgments about merit are based on a clarification of goals. The question of "merit in doing what" brings about a need to define one's organizational task. And here the division of work within organizations has more promise than conferences on philosophy and purpose. Adult education administrators can hardly hope to define the purposes of the entire adult education movement in a way that will make these more relevant to decision-making, but it is possible to create a strategy of task differentiation within one's own organization.

In spite of the general service orientation of most adult education enterprises, it would seem profitable at the present time to keep in mind that there is, nonetheless, a basic distinction between service programs and professionally-dictated programs. They are incompatible types of ef-

fort. Where both are deemed desirable, establishing separate units to perform them is likely to be a necessary step. Then the natural tendency in adult education toward a service orientation can be fully developed in centers of adult participation, which in a leisure-time society have their own rationale, aside from school traditions. Merit could be judged on grounds appropriate for an adult center.

The less natural tendency in adult education—that toward a program set by experts in line with the age-old ideals of adult education—has always shown a gap between ideal and practice, and this gap may well be growing larger. The broad "liberal art" objective can probably be best attained by setting aside units of organization for the sole purpose of liberal studies. Unless it is protected by separation, the "imposed" program fuses with service-oriented efforts and becomes subject to inappropriate criteria. When service efforts and imposed programs are separated, each can be treated differently. Different types of personnel can be recruited and distinctive orientations developed. Such a separation would probably improve organizational competence, as each unit would specialize in a particular mode of adult education. By reducing the stress of incompatible demands, the separation would permit a strengthening of integrity. The service unit would not need to claim a traditional educational role, nor would the determined program claim legitimacy by popularity. Organizational separation would protect each from the other and openly announce to the central personnel of the parent organization that there are different styles of adult education.

Undoubtedly a strategy of organizational differentiation along these lines has been developed in many organizations. The distinction between credit and non-credit work in the adult college appears to be the most common embryonic form of this differentiation. The separation of a "university college" from a more service-oriented "extension division" in some colleges appears to be just such an attempt. Whatever the names given the units, the gain in clarity of task would seem to promise much for reducing marginality, for other educators may yet come to a full acceptance of adult education, and rapidly so, if crucial distinctions are made. If there are types of adult education so different they are organizationally incompatible, their mutual welfare may well hinge upon separate organizational status.

Postscript

Professor Clark, like all good social scientists, is primarily interested in achieving as precise a statement of a relationship as he can, and has provided in this essay a considerably more systematic view than we are accustomed to take of a problem which, despite its longevity, custom does not seem appreciably to stale. But the solution he suggests is a purely logical one, does not take into account some alternatives that already exist, and thus may be viewed as a useful take-off point for discussion rather than a prescription.

He traces the basic strains in the adult education enterprise to the differing pressures of clientele demand and academic respectability, and suggests that the kind of task differentiation represented by a division between credit and non-credit work may mitigate the tensions. The following observations and questions focus on the implications of this proposal, which Clark bases on a high level of generalization, from the viewpoint of the differences that exist on a more particular level.

1. A considerable number of universities have established an organizational pattern which effectively separates credit from the non-credit activities; indeed, many of the urban evening colleges offer only credit courses approved and taught by the regular faculty. Yet, there is reason for considerable doubt that all these cases avoid that disapproval for the adult divisions which is so widely deplored. Apparently respectability cannot always be bought at the price of surrendering all efforts to adapt the institutional aims to a different clientele and a different situation. In some measure, it is clear, regular faculties refer the adult division to standards which are part of some ideal image rather than of reality.

Not only are these standards idealized, but they are in many ways non-relevant. The guardians of academic respectability in the university may never regard even the regular course, given in precisely the same way as it is presented on campus during the day, as sufficient to merit their acceptance because for many of them the university's role is played out in other areas. All parts of the university, they might say,

ought to be training people for scholarship in some area, that is, teaching people whose serious purpose is manifested by going through the degree matriculation procedures, and ought also to be adding to knowledge through research activity. The question is, then: can one succeed in being more Roman than the Romans, no matter how hard one tries?

2. By focusing hard on what is, to be sure, the major types of university adult offerings, quantitatively speaking, Clark has left out of consideration some minor but significant differences. The large bulk of offerings in university adult education consists of credit courses in either liberal arts, business, or engineering which replicate regular, respectable courses given in the secure, centrally-located departments and colleges; the greatest number of non-credit offerings are recreational or highly popularized short courses, often looked on with great disfavor by faculty.

What this leaves out is the relatively small proportion of serious first-rate programs which attempt to select from and humanize the traditional fields of knowledge. They often do not very closely resemble the traditional degree offerings, though they sometimes look like some of the best of the general education curricula developed in the pioneering undergraduate colleges. But they are often much more rigorous and demanding than many college courses. The question here is whether there are not more than the two sources for educational aims which Clark notes; whether the adult educator must derive his objectives either from the academic tradition as such or from clientele demand. The option seems to be that one can construct programs, about which no university person needs to be defensive, by changing and adapting the academic tradition not to clientele demand, but to some defensible theory of adult need.

3. The organizational question, however, is still unresolved. Such programs are, almost by definition, marginal. And to some extent most of them have sought and achieved some form of organizational separateness. Perhaps this needs to be so, and it is necessary to define a further type of differentiation from the one Clark proposes, to give organizational identity to the serious efforts to educate the public which are attempts neither to entertain nor to induct individuals into the society, which is the job of the undergraduate college.

Such a separation seems to this writer to have its points. It may

help to protect the program from dissolving into either of the other two types, provide an organizational identity appropriate to its different purposes, and make any necessary justification of the program a simpler task. The person who directs such a separate operation probably needs to be of a special type; he ought himself to have a persuasively respectable academic background, to be relatively impervious to the strains of living with ambiguity, and to combine imaginativeness with the nervous system of a tightrope walker. Some of the men presently in positions of this kind seem to approximate the type already.

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